

16 • Maps and Literature in Renaissance Italy

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In one of his *Letters of Old Age* from 1367–68, Petrarch observed that while travel added something to his experience and knowledge of things, it had diminished his knowledge of literature by keeping him away from his study. Indeed, neither hardships at sea nor perils would have kept him from traveling even “to the ends of the earth, to China and the Indies, and . . . the most distant land of Taprobane” if it had not been for his fear of losing time with his books. But then Petrarch discovered a novel technique for satisfying his Ulyssean desire for travel and knowledge while staying at home: “Therefore I decided not to travel just once on a very long journey by ship or horse or on foot to those lands, but many times on a tiny map, with books and the imagination, so that in the course of an hour I could go to those shores and return as many times as I liked . . . not only unscathed, but unwearied too, not only with sound body, but with no wear and tear to my shoes, untouched by briars, stones, mud and dust.”¹

Petrarch’s celebration of the pleasures of virtual travel on maps in the fourteenth century, perhaps the first in modern literary history, represents a characteristic expression of his humanism, which was rooted in new geographical knowledge culled from rediscovered classical sources as well as from the poet’s own experiences of travel. Significantly, during the same period that witnessed the earliest Atlantic discoveries, Petrarch exhibited a strong awareness of contemporary cartography, in particular of modern portolan charts, and likely had direct contact with some of the leading cartographers of the time, including the Pizzigani family in Venice.² Petrarch’s authority for geographical and cartographic knowledge was such that his humanist successors in the Renaissance, including Flavio Biondo (“*Italia illustrata*,” 1453) and Leandro Alberti (*Descrittione di tutta Italia*, 1550), credited him with authorship of the first modern map of Italy.³

More than 150 years later, in 1518, at the culminating moment of an even more momentous geographical and technological transition, the greatest poet of the Italian Renaissance, Lodovico Ariosto, expressed, in a passage from his third satire patently inspired by Petrarch, his own resistance to travel and evoked virtual travel on maps as its antidote: “Let him wander who desires to

wander. Let him see England, Hungary, France, and Spain. I am content to live in my native land. I have seen Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Romagna, and the mountain range that divides Italy, and the one that locks her in, and both the seas that wash her. And that is quite enough for me. Without ever paying an innkeeper, I will go exploring the rest of the earth with Ptolemy, whether the world be at peace or else at war. Without ever making vows when the heavens flash with lightning, I will go bounding over all the seas, more secure aboard my maps than aboard ships.”⁴

For both Petrarch and Ariosto, the map enabled the imagination of the poet and of the literary scholar to establish an intellectual and artistic dominion over the world while staying at home. Eventually, travel on maps became a characteristic form of literary compensation in Italy. Failing to achieve any form of national political unification during the Renaissance, Italy can be said to have been left at home by the rapidly developing history of early modern colonial travel. But virtual travel on maps represents just one aspect of the complex and largely unexplored question of the impact of the cartographic revolution on literature in Italy. While centuries of scholarship have been dedicated to the literature connected to the discoveries and cartography of the Renaissance, scant attention has focused on the impact of contemporary mapping on Italian literature. While the topic has come into clearer view for France and England, where the links between cartography and literature have received renewed attention as part of a general cultural reassessment of the emergence of the modern colonial nation-state, this schol-

1. Francesco Petrarca, *Seniles* (9.2); see idem, *Letters of Old Age: Rerum senilium libri*, 2 vols., trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 1:329.

2. Friedersdorff first hypothesized about Petrarch’s contact with the Pizzigani in Parma in Franz Friedersdorff, ed. and trans., *Franz Petrarca’s poetische Briefe* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903), 140–41.

3. Concerning Petrarch’s lost map of Italy, purportedly made for King Robert of Naples and reported as extant in the archives of the Este family as late as 1601, see Roberto Almagià, *Monumenta Italiae cartographica* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1929), 5.

4. Lodovico Ariosto, *The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto: A Renaissance Autobiography*, trans. Peter DeSa Wiggins (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), *Satire* 3.55–66 (p. 61).

arship is barely discernable for Italy.⁵ With the exception of some isolated studies of selected texts and authors, no synthetic treatment has been written.

Yet the Italian literary system's relation and response to modern cartography was particularly rich, varied, and formative for Europe during the Quattrocento and the High Renaissance, in particular stimulated by the introduction and influence of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography*, a work that Petrarch did not know but across whose maps Ariosto and his heroes traveled. Within the wider European context, Italy was central to the interactions of literature and cartography during the period that roughly corresponds to Ptolemy's ascendancy, that is, until the modern discoveries and explorations and the appearance of the great modern atlases rendered Ptolemy's *Geography* a historically obsolete museum piece by the middle of the sixteenth century.⁶ Interactions between Italian literature and cartography became less significant as Italy became more marginal to the course of modern European history in its early modern and globalizing aspects. Girolamo Ruscelli, in his 1561 translation of Ptolemy (with maps copied from Giacomo Gastaldi's earlier edition), lamented the poor state of Italian mapping, which he attributed to the neglect of cartography by Italian princes who had been distracted from cultivating the discipline by the Italian wars.⁷ While Ruscelli's perspective is partial and rhetorically colored, it nevertheless points to a contrast between the Italian situation of the second half of the sixteenth century and that of the emergent nation-states, where the new early modern synergies between maps and literature were fostered and found expression across the literary system; for instance, the novel's cartographic dimensions have been the focus of much recent attention, although the genre remained undeveloped in Italy until the nineteenth century.⁸

A concise review of the historical relations between maps and literature in Italy during the Renaissance might illustrate this trajectory of initially intense interaction, which culminated during the High Renaissance and then declined, while suggesting potential points of entry and perspectives for future research. Several of these can be related to the dissemination of the Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* initiated by Manuel Chrysoloras and completed in about 1409 by Jacopo Angeli.⁹ Once considered a contributing factor in a number of cultural innovations that ranged from the dramatic increase in the number of maps during the Renaissance to "the whole new Renaissance psychology of perspectival perception," Ptolemy's direct influence has, however, been greatly diminished and nuanced by more recent scholarship.¹⁰

For example, while the diffuse penetration of Ptolemy's *Geography* into the Italian literary world, especially that of Florentine humanism, has been well documented in the historiography,¹¹ the supposition that Ptolemy's methods

found practical application in Leon Battista Alberti's avant-garde cartographic contribution to contemporary Roman antiquarianism, the "Descriptio urbis Romae" (composed around 1450), is more problematic. It has been assumed that Alberti derived the cartographic approach he applied to the city of Rome in part from Ptolemy, whose *Geography* he knew well.¹² Alberti used

5. See p. 419, note 56, in this volume and especially Richard Helgersson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); for early modern France, see Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

6. See the discussion in chapter 9 in this volume, which treats its theme as far as the Pirckheimer translation published in Strasbourg in 1525. Also, Marica Milanese, in *Tolomeo sostituito: Studi di storia delle conoscenze geografiche nel XVI secolo* (Milan: Unicopli, 1984), offers an authoritative outline of the reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* during the Renaissance. Ptolemy's loss of authority was perceivable by the time of Erasmus's philological edition of the text (1533) and became increasingly explicit and declared when the great geographers (Sebastian Münster, Giacomo Gastaldi, Gerardus Mercator, Giovanni Antonio Magini) published their editions of the *Geography*. Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570) dispensed with Ptolemy altogether. See Amedeo Quondam, "(De)scrivere la terra: Il discorso geografico da Tolomeo all'Atlante," in *Culture et société en Italie du Moyen-âge à la Renaissance, Hommage à André Rochon* (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1985), 11–35.

7. Claudius Ptolemy, *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo, Alessandrino: Nuouemente tradotta di Greco in Italiano*, trans. Girolamo Ruscelli (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561), 26–27.

8. For the map and the modern novel, see Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1998). For criticisms of Moretti's perspective, see David Harvey, "The Cartographic Imagination," in *Cosmopolitan Geographies: New Locations in Literature and Culture*, ed. Vinay Dharwadker (New York: Routledge, 2001), 63–87, esp. 86 n. 10.

9. See chapter 9 in this volume and Sebastiano Gentile, "Emanuele Crisolora e la 'Geografia' di Tolomeo," in *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV*, ed. Mariarosia Cortesi and Enrico V. Maltese (Naples: M. d'Avria, 1992), 291–308.

10. This latter thesis was most fully developed by Samuel Y. Edgerton, for example, in *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 91–105, quotation on 92, and idem, "Florentine Interest in Ptolemaic Cartography as Background for Renaissance Painting, Architecture, and the Discovery of America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33 (1974): 274–92. For a criticism of this thesis, see the section in chapter 9 in this volume dedicated to the question, which arrives at the conclusion that "Ptolemy played no part in inspiring the new organization of pictorial space that emerged in the fifteenth century" (p. 336).

11. See Sebastiano Gentile, ed., *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America: Umanesimo e geografia nel '400 Fiorentino* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), and, most recently, the discussion on the circle of Niccolò Niccoli in chapter 9 in this volume.

12. Most recently by Anthony Grafton in *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 239–47, esp. 244. See Luigi Vagnetti, "Lo studio di Roma negli scritti Albertiani," in *Convegno internazionale indetto nel V centenario di Leon Battista Alberti* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974), 73–140, and Leon Battista Alberti, *Descriptio urbis Romae: Édition critique, traduction et commentaire*, ed. Martine Furno and Mario Carpo (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

a surveying instrument, first described in his “Ludi rerum mathematicarum,” which resembled an astrolabe. With the Capitoline as the reference point, Alberti trained the surveying instrument on the earth rather than the sky to provide in the “*Descriptio urbis Romae*” a set of tables and map coordinates like those in Ptolemy. Alberti intended the data to create an accurate map of the positions of many major monuments of Rome. Yet Alberti’s plan, with its polar coordinate system to plot the distances and bearings of buildings from a central point, bears little geometrical relationship to the plane coordinate system proposed for maps in the *Geography*.¹³ Moreover, Carpo has cautioned against overstating a genealogical or causal link between Ptolemy and Alberti, because both were responding independently to pre-printing conditions, in which texts could be reliably transmitted, but maps could not. Like Ptolemy before him, Alberti transformed the map into an alphanumeric sequence that today we would term “digital,” in response to the unreliability of “analogical” methods of reproduction of the map before the advent of printing (i.e., when maps were copied by hand). For Carpo, the “*Descriptio urbis Romae*” did not require a map and was in fact intended to serve as the “digital” surrogate for one.¹⁴ In fact, no map has survived, if one ever was made to accompany the text, although modern scholars have reconstructed one on the basis of Alberti’s tables.

What Carpo describes as Alberti’s “iconophobia” was a response to the same limitations inherent in the manuscript transmission of complex images that Strabo and Ptolemy had confronted during the classical period. Indeed, as Carpo observes, Roman cartography privileged graphic documents created as unique exemplars (carved in marble, painted on walls, or engraved on metal) that were not intended to be reproduced or even copied. Thus, both empirical ekphrastic (Strabo) and systematic or algorithmic (Ptolemy) traditions of geographic description were developed by classical geographers to overcome material limitations in the technologies of graphic reproduction.¹⁵ To the extent that classical ekphrastic traditions of geographical writing persisted during the Renaissance, they represented a brake on trends toward the integration of map and text, even in the era of print that promoted the accumulation, transmission, and diffusion of visual knowledge in the form of maps together with textual material.

From a literary standpoint, on the other hand, Alberti’s “*Descriptio urbis Romae*,” like Ptolemy’s *Geography*, constituted a purely metacartographic discourse and included no descriptions of monuments or places of Rome nor any aspects of narrativity. What Quondam has termed Ptolemy’s “illegibility” from a literary perspective represented a significant barrier as Italian vernacular literature attempted to come to terms with Ptolemy’s *Ge-*

ography.¹⁶ In fact, during the second half of the Quattrocento, an explicit attempt to bring Ptolemy together with vernacular traditions of cosmographical poetry ran up against the shoals of Ptolemy’s “illegibility.”

Arguably the most prominent example of the interactions of cartography and literature during the Quattrocento, Francesco Berlinghieri’s *Sette giornate della geographia* (begun between 1460 and 1465 and completed between 1478 and 1482) attempted a poetic “translation” of Ptolemy. Composed in Dante’s *terza rima* and with a complete set of Ptolemy’s maps with four modern additions (Italy, Spain, France, and Palestine), Berlinghieri’s poem represented the attempt to translate Ptolemy into the literary genre of the journey-vision in imitation of Dante’s *Commedia* and Fazio degli Uberti’s “Dittamondo.” Berlinghieri featured himself in the role of the poet-protagonists Dante and Fazio, with Ptolemy assuming the role of Dante’s guide Virgil and Fazio’s Solinus. Despite prestigious patronage and authoritative Neoplatonic cultural associations, the work had “little success, even in a time which witnessed the explosive rebirth of Ptolemy.”¹⁷ Furthermore, it has been described as “a contradictory and still unresolved hybridization of cultural typologies and communicative codes.”¹⁸

While historians of cartography continue to appreciate the work in terms of its recapitulation and reception of Ptolemy, from the perspective of literary history, Berlinghieri’s *Sette giornate* marks the end of a distinguished tradition of geocosmographical poetry in the Tuscan tradition, which included a work like Leonardo Dati’s *Sfera* in addition to Dante and Uberti. Berlinghieri’s failed “translation” of Ptolemy signals the obsolescence of this

13. David Woodward makes this point and adds that “Alberti’s interest in the *Cosmographia* appears to have been more as a target of satire than as a methodological source, for his major allusion to the treatise appears in his irony *Musca* where he says that the beautiful patterns on the wings of flies may have inspired Ptolemy’s maps”; see his “Il ritratto della terra,” in *Nel segno di Masaccio: L’invenzione della prospettiva*, ed. Filippo Camerota, exhibition catalog (Florence: Giunti, Firenze Musei, 2001), 258–61, quotation on 261.

14. Mario Carpo, “*Descriptio urbis Romae: Ekfrasis geografica e cultura visuale all’alba della rivoluzione tipografica*,” *Albertiana* 1 (1998): 121–42, esp. 127.

15. Carpo, “*Descriptio urbis Romae*,” 140–42.

16. Quondam, “(De)scrivere la terra,” 15.

17. Angela Codazzi, “Berlinghieri, Francesco,” in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), 9:121–24, quotation on 123. The poem was accompanied by an *Apolo-* *logus* by Marsilio Ficino presenting the work to Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino; see Paolo Veneziani, “Vicende tipografiche della *Geografia* di Francesco Berlinghieri,” *Bibliofilia* 84 (1982): 195–208, esp. 196–97. A second surviving deluxe codex was prepared for Lorenzo de’ Medici, Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidese, AC XIV 44; both codices are described in Gentile’s *Firenze*, 229–37.

18. Quondam, “(De)scrivere la terra,” 15.

particular genre,¹⁹ even though Lorenzo de' Medici and his circle were working at this time to revive the vernacular Tuscan literary tradition after a century of neglect. For example, they supported a series of culturally prestigious Florentine literary productions, including Cristoforo Landino's 1481 Neoplatonic commentary on Dante's *Commedia*, which was printed in a large folio deluxe edition by the same printer, Niccolò Tedesco, who published Berlinghieri's *Septe giornate*.²⁰

For the first time in print, Landino's commentary gave notice of an important new cartographic branch of Dante criticism. Inspired in part by Ptolemy's *Geography* and pioneered by the Florentine mathematician, architect, and copyist Antonio Manetti, the studies of the "site, form and measure" of Dante's hell engaged Dante commentators and illustrators including Alessandro Velutello (1544) and Galileo Galilei (1598) until the end of the Renaissance.²¹ Manetti emerged from the same Florentine scholarly and technical environment that produced Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, Filippo Brunelleschi's plan for the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, and the studies in astronomy, geodesy, and geography of Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. Manetti represents a transitional figure in the history of vernacular humanism between the first and second half of the Quattrocento: he translated Dante's *Monarchia* and wrote a "Life of Brunelleschi" as well as the "Novella del grasso legnaiuolo," which is considered a masterpiece of Italian literature in its genre. His topographical studies of Dante, which were widely discussed in Florence and probably inspired by Brunelleschi (Giorgio Vasari describes how Brunelleschi dedicated much time to the study of Dante's "sites and measures"),²² reflect the mathematical aspect of the contemporary revolution in cartography and its impact on the literary system. They come down to us secondhand, through the brief synthesis that Landino presented at the beginning of his 1481 *Commedia* and posthumously through a fictional dialog in two brief books that Girolamo Benivieni appended to his 1506 Florentine edition (Giunti) of Dante's poem, which represents the best source for Manetti's ideas.²³

Benivieni's first book is dedicated to relatively complex mathematical calculations based on geometry and extrapolated from measurements Dante himself provided in the last six cantos of the *Inferno* and his second book to the discussion of a series of *disegni* (or maps).²⁴ Manetti asserts in the first part of the dialog that in order to map hell, it is necessary not only to know the text very well, but also to know geometry and astronomy "and concerning cosmography the 'Mantellino' of Ptolemy [Ptolemy's first conical projection, shaped like a 'cloak'] and the navigational chart because they both help one another."²⁵ With Ptolemy's calculations for the location of Jerusalem and the coordinates of Cuma, Manetti begins

to delineate the part of the surface of the globe beneath which Dante's *Inferno* is located. Manetti then tracks Dante's progress in the descent toward Satan at the center of the earth, which is also a journey east to Jerusalem across the surface of the *oikoumene*, the inhabited world, from Cuma. He argues, for example, by means of citations from the text and these cartographic coordinates, that Dante and Virgil had progressed to beneath Crete at the point in the *Inferno* (14.94–138) where Virgil describes the Old Man of Crete.

The second book illustrates how the use of maps (or *disegni*) represented an essential part of Manetti's method. Representing the first printed maps of Dante's hell and, as such, the beginning of a venerable tradition, an interesting *mappamundi* in the series appears to combine, however incongruously, knowledge of the New World discoveries with a Dantean scheme of the globe that shows Jerusalem and Mount Purgatory at the tipodes, with hell situated beneath Jerusalem (fig. 16.1). Benivieni disseminated his 1505–6 edition of Dante at the same time that many people in Florence learned about

19. A related and earlier expression of the vernacular tradition's attempt to come to some kind of accommodation with the revolution in cartographic and geographical knowledge brought about by Ptolemy's *Geography* is Guglielmo Capello's "Ferrarese commentary (1435–37)" on Fazio degli Uberti's "Dittamondo," studied by Marica Milanese in "Il commento al *Dittamondo* di Guglielmo Capello (1435–37)," in *Alla corte degli Estensi: Filosofia, arte e cultura a Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. Marco Bertozzi (Ferrara: Università degli Studi, 1994), 365–88.

20. See Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, "Niccolò Tedesco e le carte della Geografia di Francesco Berlinghieri autore-editore," in *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi direttore de La bibliofilia* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1973), 377–97.

21. For a detailed outline of this tradition, see Thomas B. Settle, "Dante, the *Inferno* and Galileo," in *Pictorial Means in Early Modern Engineering, 1400–1650*, ed. Wolfgang Lefèvre (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2002), 139–57.

22. Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere di Giotto Vasari*, 9 vols., ed. Gaetano Milanese (Florence: Sansoni, 1878–85), 2:333. See Franz Reitingner, "Die Konstruktion anderer Welten," in *Wunschmaschine, Weltfindung: Eine Geschichte der Technikvisionen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Felderer, exhibition catalog (Vienna: Springer, 1996), 145–66, esp. 148–49.

23. For a modern edition of Girolamo Benivieni's dialogs, as well as Galileo's intervention, see Ottavio Gigli, ed., *Studi sulla Divina commedia di Galileo Galilei, Vincenzo Borghini ed altri* (1855; reprinted Florence: Le Monnier, 2000). Velutello's "descrittione de lo Inferno" first appeared in his commentary on the *Commedia* (1544).

24. Girolamo Benivieni, *Dialogo di Antonio Manetti: Cittadino fiorentino circa al sito, forma, & misure del lo infero di Dante Alighieri poeta eccellentissimo* (Florence: F. di Giunta, [1506]). For an intriguing interpretation of Dante's original intent as self-consciously playful when he provided the specific measurements in lower hell (for example, *Inferno* 29.8–10, 30.84–87, 31.58–66, and 31.112–14), from which Renaissance cartographers of hell extrapolated their calculations, see John Kleiner, *Mismatching the Underworld: Daring and Error in Dante's "Comedy"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

25. Benivieni, *Dialogo di Antonio Manetti*, 4v.



FIG. 16.1. MAP OF DANTE'S HELL, 1506. The peninsular protrusions emerging from the western edge of the circle at the antipodes (rather than ocean completely encircling the globe, as was typical) may well be intended to suggest New World discoveries corresponding to discoveries of the English and Portuguese explorers in the north and of the Portuguese and Spanish explorers in the south.

Girolamo Benivieni, *Dialogo di Antonio Manetti: Cittadino fio retino circa al sito, forma, & misure del lo infero di Dante Alighieri poeta excellentis simo* (Florence: F. di Giunta, [1506]), Giv. Photograph courtesy of the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca.

the New World discoveries in the pseudo-Vespucian “Lettera delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi.” The nature of the relationship between Dante’s fiction and the truth of Ptolemaic cartographic science and the new discoveries remains unresolved in Benivieni’s exposition and illustration of Manetti’s ideas. This lack of resolution is symptomatic of the tensions between the literary and scientific orders of truth that were beginning to emerge at the time. That at the end of the sixteenth century Galileo would intervene in the debate about the “site, form and measure” of Dante’s hell to defend Manetti’s theories against the criticisms of Vellutello must appear highly incongruous from our perspective. However, the episode testifies to the persistence within Florentine culture of a blending and blurring of scientific and literary authorities peculiar to Tuscany during this period. This was no doubt due to the continuing prestige

enjoyed by the Tuscan literary tradition and its founding father, Dante.²⁶

In his 1544 edition of Dante, Vellutello’s mid-sixteenth century polemics against Manetti’s theories eventually stimulated the response of the Florentine Academy and led to Galileo’s intervention. But Vellutello’s extremely successful and influential edition of Petrarch and commentary preceded the controversy by several decades. Published in Venice by Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio in 1525, Vellutello’s work was the first modern commentary on Petrarch’s poetry to appear. And it included a map of Petrarchan Provence that was often reprinted in subsequent editions (fig. 16.2). The chorographic map of Provence that Vellutello placed at the beginning of his commentary was directly inspired by the evident success of the Dante maps of the 1506 Benivieni edition and of the 1515 Aldine edition, which had also included a synoptic map of Dante’s hell in emulation of Benivieni’s Manetti-inspired cartographic designs. For his part, Vellutello introduced the map of Provence to illustrate his arguments concerning the place of Laura’s birth and the site where the poet fell in love with her by referring to it as the “site, form, and measure of this Valley which is called Vaucluse,” just as Manetti’s discussions of Dante’s *Inferno* had been titled by Landino and Benivieni.²⁷ But instead of the “sito, forma e misura” of an evidently fictional space not accessible to empirical investigation, Vellutello mapped a real geographical territory.

Vellutello’s map of Provence represents a noteworthy episode in the history of the relationship between cartography and Italian literature, especially in consideration of the background of the humanistic “iconophobic” geographical writing mentioned earlier. A paradigmatic case of this line of ekphrastic humanist geographical writing is Leandro Alberti’s 1550 *Descrittione di tutta Italia*. In the tradition of Flavio Biondo’s fifteenth-century “Italia illustrata,” *Descrittione di tutta Italia* presented itself conspicuously without maps, even at a time when printed maps were in wide circulation and quite common in geographical literature, *isolarii*, and atlases. In manifest contradiction to the expectation created by *isolarii*, even Alberti’s *Isole appartenenti all’Italia*, written as an appendix

26. Dante Della Terza, “Galileo, Man of Letters,” in *Galileo Reappraised*, ed. Carlo Luigi Golino (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 1–22.

27. Francesco Petrarca, *Le volgari opere del Petrarca con la esposizione di Alessandro Vellutello da Lucca* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio & Fratelli, 1525), f. BB2. For discussion of Vellutello’s commentary and biographical reconstructions, see William J. Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 45–52; the map is briefly discussed by Roland Arthur Greene in *Post-Petrarchism: Origins and Innovations of the Western Lyric Sequence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 195–96.

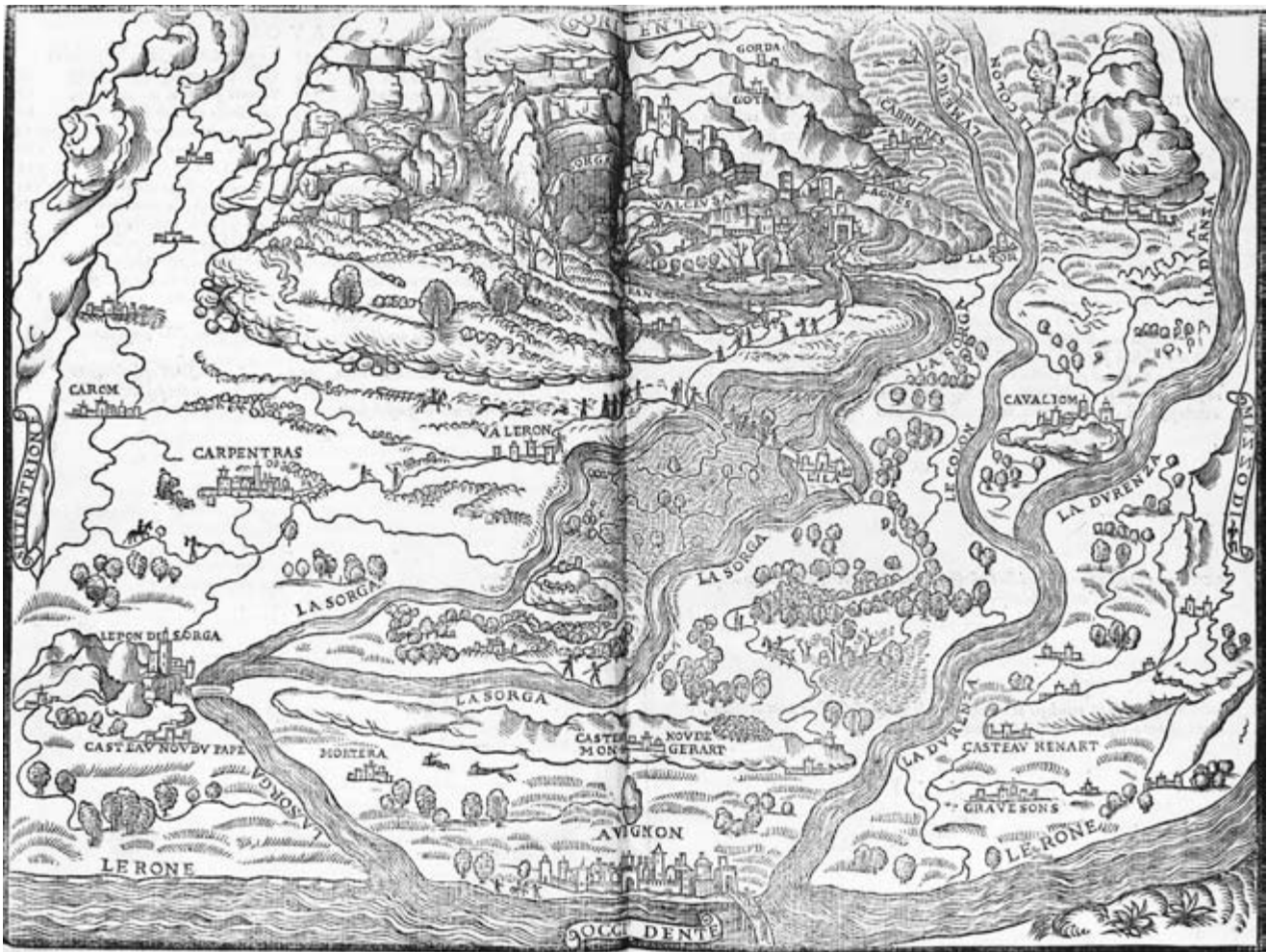


FIG. 16.2. ALLESANDRO VELLUTELLO'S MAP OF PROVENCE, 1525.

Size of the original: ca. 20 × 26.8 cm. Francesco Petrarca, *Le*

volgari opere del Petrarca con la esposizione di Alessandro Vellutello da Lucca (Venice: Giovanni Antonio da Sabbio & Fratelli, 1525). Photograph courtesy of the BL (C.47.g.20).

to his description of Italy and first published in Bologna in 1550 by the Dominican friar Vincenzo da Bologna, initially appeared without maps. In contrast to this map-resistant line of Italian humanist geographical writing exemplified by Leandro Alberti, the figure of Lodovico Guicciardini stands out for his remarkable and exceptional (in an Italian context) inclusion of many maps and cityscapes to accompany his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567, 1581, and 1588). Significantly, Guicciardini was not a professional writer or traditional humanist but a Florentine ex-patriot living in cosmopolitan Antwerp.²⁸ Printing had made it possible to reproduce the map mechanically. And the opportunity to put texts and maps together evidently appealed to the more innovative authors and sectors of Italian culture as early as Vellutello's edition of Petrarch.

Vellutello was in fact relatively marginal to the elite circles of humanism in Venice, but his close associations

with the world of Venetian printing (one of the most important publishers of illustrated books, Marcolini, published Vellutello's extensively illustrated 1544 edition of Dante) amply compensated for this lack. Vellutello combined a polemical attitude toward the Ciceronianism of Venetian humanism's reigning arbiter, Pietro Bembo, and Bembo's Aldine edition of Petrarch (1501)²⁹ with a brilliant sense of the map's market potential. But Vellutello's map of Provence found an even deeper inspiration in the philology by means of which he reordered the poems of

28. On Guicciardini, see Dina Aristodemo, "La figura e l'opera di Lodovico Guicciardini," and Frank Lestringant, "Lodovico Guicciardini, Chorographe," both in *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589): Actes du Colloque international des 28, 29 et 30 mars 1990*, ed. Pierre Jodogne (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991), 19–39 and 119–34.

29. Francesco Petrarca, *Le cose volgari*, ed. Pietro Bembo (Vinegia: Aldo Romano, 1501).

the *Canzoniere* based on his study of Petrarch's life and times. Vellutello's studies of the poet's Latin epistolary demonstrated how Petrarch's lyrical fictions derived from a biographical dimension and enabled him to locate the Petrarchan self in spatial—that is, in geographical and cartographic—terms. Vellutello's "territorializations" of Petrarch represent an alternative to the purely rhetorical model of Italian Renaissance Petrarchism as established by Pietro Bembo in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (Venice, 1525) and *Rime* (Venice, 1530) and foreshadow the spatially and territorially oriented transatlantic extensions of New World Petrarchism.³⁰

Within the Italian context, however, it was in chivalric literature that Ptolemy and modern cartography found their fullest literary integrations during the Renaissance, beginning with the later prose romances of Andrea da Barberino and culminating in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. An established *cantatore* and compiler of an ambitious cycle of chivalric romances in Tuscan vernacular prose, Andrea da Barberino has recently emerged in the scholarship as an important missing link between the early Italian reworking of the chansons de geste and the Renaissance epic masterpieces.³¹ Stimulated in part by Ptolemy, Andrea was also inspired by cartography on an ecumenical scale in the most popular of his works, "Guerino Meschino" (from the end of the 1410s or the beginning of the 1420s), which has been described as the apex of Andrea's cartographic erudition.³² Guerino's journeys throughout the known world in search of his parentage are constructed in realistic geographical terms under the influence of humanistic historiography and "new habits of mind fostered by the *studia humanitatis*."³³ For example, in chapter 44, during his travels in the East the hero encounters "another great realm, which is called frigid Sirica, where the great river called Bausticon passes and on this side of the river Guerino saw three cities, one which has the name Ottoricota, the other Orsona and the third Solana."³⁴ The toponyms appear in the same chapter of the *Geography* (6.16), and their placement as they are described by Andrea corresponds to their appearance in Tabula VIII, Asiae, which strongly suggests that Andrea consulted a Ptolemaic map.

While Andrea's use of the *Geography* in the "Guerino" awaits more specialized study to determine its precise terms (for instance, to what extent did Andrea simply consult Ptolemy's lists of place-names, and to what extent was he inspired by looking at the *tabulae* or Ptolemaic world maps), it is apparent that the geography of the "Guerino" is extremely precise and reflects the reality described in Ptolemy's maps.³⁵ In contrast to the old abbreviated voyage formulas of travel ("and they rode so much they arrived"), Andrea's use of geography lent verisimilitude to fictional literature and accredited it with greater authority at a time when new criteria of historiographic

truth as well as geographical and scientific developments were beginning to have an impact on the domain of traditional fictional literature. Andrea da Barberino's use of cartography in the "Guerino" evidently reflected an initial moment of confluence of cartography and literature: stimulated by the humanist reception of Ptolemy's *Geography*, this blending occurred on the eve of Manetti's investigations that adopted Ptolemy even in the measurement of Dante's hell.

But it is Lodovico Ariosto who best illustrates the fertile impact of modern cartography and of Ptolemy on Italian High Renaissance literature. His great precursor Matteo Maria Boiardo died just two years after Christopher Columbus's discovery. Boiardo's unfinished *Orlando innamorato* thus predated the revolution in geographical knowledge brought about by the discovery and exploration of the Americas.³⁶ Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, on the other hand, published in three redactions (1516, 1521, and 1532) can be said to represent, both in literary terms and by means of the kind of travel on maps described in his third satire, Italy's High Renaissance literary response to the discoveries and explorations and a form of cultural compensation for Ferrara and Italy's increasing marginality in the course of modern European history (fig. 16.3).³⁷

30. See Gino Belloni, *Laura tra Petrarca e Bembo: Studi sul commento umanistico-rinascimentale al "Canzoniere"* (Padua: Antenore, 1992), 58–95. For an account of "Transatlantic Petrarchism," see Roland Arthur Greene, *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

31. See Gloria Allaire, *Andrea da Barberino and the Language of Chivalry* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997).

32. Allaire, *Andrea da Barberino*, 17. See also pp. 297–98 in this volume; Heinrich Hawickhorst, "Über die Geographie bei Andrea de' Magnabotti," *Romanische Forschungen* 13 (1902): 689–784; and Rudolf Peters, "Über die Geographie im Guerino Meschino des Andrea de' Magnabotti," *Romanische Forschungen* 22 (1908): 426–505.

33. See Paul F. Grendler, "Chivalric Romances in the Italian Renaissance," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1988): 59–102, quotation on 71.

34. The example is from Peters, "Über die Geographie," 430–31.

35. See pp. 297–98 in this volume.

36. Michael Murrin observes, "[Boiardo] is careful with his geography and places his wonders on the map." For a first orientation regarding the question of Boiardo and cartography, which cannot be dealt with here, see Michael Murrin, "Falerina's Garden," in *The Allegorical Epic: Essays in Its Rise and Decline* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 53–85, esp. 74–79, quotation on 75.

37. The cartographic character and inspiration of Ariosto's epic was also expressed by the illustrative traditions associated with the poem from around the middle of the sixteenth century, especially in the editions of Vincenzo Valgrisi that feature Ptolemaic-style maps in the backgrounds of several illustrations. Valgrisi was also the publisher of the important edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* edited by Ruscelli (1561). The cartographic aspect of the poem's illustrative tradition is addressed in a preliminary and somewhat misleading way (in its emphasis on Valvasori rather than Valgrisi) by Enid T. Falaschi, "Valvasori's 1553 Illustrations of *Orlando furioso*: The Development of Multi-Narrative



FIG. 16.3. MAP FROM ARIOSTO'S *ORLANDO FURIOSO*. Size of the original: ca. 16.5 × 9.8 cm. Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1556), 161. Photograph courtesy of the BL (C.12.e.12).

From the time that Niccolò III d'Este organized a state pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1413 as one means of consolidating political power, the Ferrarese always sought to maintain contact with the most advanced sectors of contemporary cartography and travel. For instance, Borso d'Este commissioned the Ptolemaic updating of Uberti's "Dittamondo" in 1435. The case of the map representing the earliest cartographic record of the Columbian discoveries, which Alberto Cantino, envoy of Duke Ercole, smuggled out of Portugal to Ferrara in 1502, is perhaps the most famous example of the intense involvement of the Ferrarese court in contemporary explorations and mapping.³⁸ It is important to bear in mind,

however, that Ferrara was extremely peripheral to these developments. In broad cultural terms, Estense cultivation of geographical knowledge and cartography thus represented an important means of addressing the challenge of Ferrara's spatial and political marginality. Within the context of the five principal state powers of the Italian peninsula, Ferrara's position only became more vulnerable during the first decades of the sixteenth century, when the peninsula was caught up in the Italian wars and was torn by the competing imperial aspirations of France and Spain. These wars and the Italian "crisis" in general had an evident impact throughout the Italian literary system, and on Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* in particular, including its spatial dimension. Thus, it appears highly significant that although Ariosto makes no mention of the discoveries and explorations in the first two redactions of the poem, he was not only aware of them but appears to have been inspired by them; he based journeys of his heroes on them and used the rich cartographic resources available to him in Ferrara.

For example, the journey of the hero, Ruggiero, around the world is described in sufficient cartographic detail to reveal that he followed the same course as Columbus across the Atlantic along the Tropic of Cancer. He passed Alcina's island, where Cipangu-Japan (toward which Columbus's journey had tended) was supposed to be according to Marco Polo and according to cartographic representations of the time.³⁹ Ruggiero goes on, however, to circumnavigate the entire globe, crossing Asia and easily surpassing Columbus on the shoulders of the marvelous hippogryph in 1516 — that is, six years before Ferdinand Magellan's expedition returned from the first historical circumnavigation. Indeed, one might say that Ariosto's geographical fantasy, like the improbable offspring of horse and griffin, which is sometimes taken as a metaliterary figure for the poet's art and imagination, is

Technique in Venice and Its Links with Cartography," *Bibliofilia* 77 (1975): 227–51. Denis E. Cosgrove makes a similar point in "Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992): 65–89, esp. 81–82.

38. See Gabriele Nori, "La corte itinerante: Il pellegrinaggio di Niccolò III in terrasanta," in *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*, 3 vols., ed. Giuseppe Papagno and Amedeo Quondam (Rome: Bulzoni, 1982), 1:233–46, and Claudio Greppi, "Luoghi e miti: La conoscenza delle scoperte presso la corte ferrarese," in *Alla corte degli Estensi: Filosofia, arte e cultura a Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. Marco Bertozzi (Ferrara: Università degli Studi, 1994), 447–63.

39. Ariosto's use of maps in the composition of the *Orlando furioso* has been studied by Alexandre Dorozlăi in *Ptolémée et l'hippogriffe: La géographie de l'Arioste soumise à l'épreuve des cartes* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998); for Ruggiero's circumnavigation, see esp. 45–73. See also Alexandre Dorozlăi et al., *Espaces réels et espaces imaginaires dans le Roland furieux* (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1991).

similarly located midway between the world of nature and poetic fantasy: it finds its source in the geographically real as represented by the cartography of the time.⁴⁰ Ariosto used the map as did Andrea da Barberino to satisfy his sophisticated audiences's requirement for geographical verisimilitude. But, stimulated by the energy of the contemporary discoveries and explorations, Ariosto went on to develop in his poem marvels of virtual travel that vied with and even surpassed those of the historical journeys of discovery and exploration.

Thus, it is highly significant that Ariosto acknowledged the historical discoveries and conquests only belatedly, in a passage added to the third and final redaction of 1532 (15.18–36), in response to the recent 1529 imperial coronation of Charles V in Bologna, which sealed the emperor's dominion not only over Italy but over an empire on which, proverbially, "the sun never set." In canto 15 Ariosto celebrated the imperial conquerors of the New World, and particularly the *conquistador* of Mexico, Hernán Cortés, rather than the Italian Columbus or the other heroes and romance adventurers of the discoveries and explorations. Doroszlaï has identified two modernized Ptolemaic maps, Martin Waldseemüller's of 1507 and the Contarini-Rosselli of 1506, that represent exactly the far western portion of the itinerary followed by Astolfo (15.16–17). Doroszlaï even suggests that when Andronica prophesies New World conquests to Astolfo and describes "the holy cross and imperial flags I know, Fixed on the verdant shore" (15.23), Ariosto is describing the New World as viewed in the Cantino map, with deep green coasts and Castilian flags planted there, just as the reference to the "holy cross" in relation to those same shores likely derived from one of the modernized Ptolemaic *mappaemundi* that labeled the newly discovered lands "Terra Sancte Crvcis sive Mvndys Novvs."⁴¹

Given Ariosto's disillusioned attitude about the nature of encomia of patrons revealed in John the Evangelist's debriefing of Astolfo during his visit to the Earthly Paradise (35.1–29), the reader ought to infer an implicitly polemical element in Ariosto's belated acknowledgment of Spain's discoveries and conquests. In fact, Ariosto splices this addition into the midst of his account of the poem's most marvelous journey—accomplished by the English knight Astolfo aboard the hippogryph. This culminates in its terrestrial dimension, in canto 33, according to a route based with "remarkable exactitude" on Ptolemaic *tabulae novae* in its Iberian portion (33.97–98), while the geography of the African or "Ethiopian" part of the trip is informed by medieval *mappaemundi* and portolan charts including the Catalan world (Estense) map (ca. 1450) and the Dalorto chart (1325–30).⁴² Eventually, Astolfo liberates the Ethiopian kingdom of Senàpo from the plague of the harpies, who in the exordium of canto 34 are compared to the foreigners who

have invaded Italy. Inspired by Genoese cartography, Ariosto identified the king of Senàpo as Prester John.⁴³

In literary terms of the imagination, Ariosto's cartographic conquests thus represent an illuminating parallel or counterpoint to other more historical journeys of conquest and political uses of the map. Ariosto's use of maps, as illustrated by Doroszlaï among others, represents an affirmation of Estense cultural power that had been developing along this trajectory in Ferrara, where the map evidently served a different function than it was to serve at the court of Charles V or François I or eventually Elizabeth I. As Italy and the Italian courts became progressively marginalized in the wake of discoveries and conquests and the Italian wars of the High Renaissance, the subsequent Italian epic confirms what Ariosto's distinctively literary use of the map foreshadowed: diminished geographical horizons and a consequent drop in cartographic inspiration. Torquato Tasso excluded America from his *Gerusalemme liberata* by eliminating the extra-Mediterranean portion of Carlo and Ubaldo's marvelous voyage to the enchantress Armida's island. Inspired by Antonio Pigafetta's account of Magellan's circumnavigation, Tasso had originally set the island off the coasts of Patagonia in an early draft of canto 15 of the poem. By transferring the action to the Fortunate Islands [the Canaries], Tasso effectively restricted the boundaries of the poem within the farthest western limits of the then-antiquated Ptolemaic *oikumene*.⁴⁴

40. Ariosto insists on the reality of the marvelous offspring of griffin and horse when he introduces the hippogryph for the first time in *Orlando furioso* 4.18: "No empty fiction wrought by magic lore, / But natural was the steed the wizard pressed: / For him a filly to a griffin bore; / Hight hippogryph. In wings and beak and crest. / Formed like his sire, as in the feet before; / But like the mare, his dam, in all the rest. / Such on Riphæan hills, though rarely found, / Are bred, beyond the frozen ocean's bound"; see Ludovico Ariosto, *The Orlando Furioso*, 2 vols., trans. William Stewart Rose (London: George Bell and Sons, 1876–77), 1:53. Ascoli has observed how "Ariosto places the hippogryph squarely between the world of nature and that of poetic fantasy as a way of showing how equivocal are all mediations of imagination between the two." See Albert Russell Ascoli, *Ariosto's Bitter Harmony: Crisis and Evasion in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 256.

41. Doroszlaï, *Ptolémée et l'hippogryphe*, 45–61, quotation on 58. For the Waldseemüller and Cantino maps, see figures 9.9 and 30.10.

42. Doroszlaï, *Ptolémée et l'hippogryphe*, 95–119, esp. 99.

43. The identification of "Senàpo imperator della Etiopia" (33.102) and Prester John (33.106.7–8) had first been made by Genoese cartographers. For example, the Dalorto chart includes the legend: "Scias quod Ethiopia habet imperatorem qui nominatur Senap id est Servus Crucis." See Enrico Cerulli, "Il volo di Astolfo sull'Etiopia nell'*Orlando furioso*," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 6th ser. 8 (1932): 19–38, quotation on 27.

44. See T. J. Cachey, *Le Isole Fortunate: Appunti di storia letteraria italiana* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1995), 223–83. For a discussion of the episode in relation to the tension between romance and epic in the Italian literary system and the origins of the novel, see David

The Italian chivalric tradition exemplified the same line of development in which the synergies of cartography and literature culminated during the High Renaissance. A subsequent decline also distinguishes the history of the unique genre of “cartographic” literature to be produced by the Italian Renaissance, through the combination of maps, travel narrative, and geographical descriptions into the *isolario* or “Book of Islands.” Invented by the humanist Florentine prelate Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who authored the “Liber insularum archipelagi” (including seventy-nine island charts) in the first decades of the fifteenth century, the manuscript “Book of Islands” brought together humanist travel writing and antiquarianism going back to Petrarch with developments in modern cartography, especially portolan charts.⁴⁵ Two factors account for contemporary scholarship’s fascination with the genre as an independent barometer of literary and cultural transformations during the period: the unique confluence of cultural factors that led to the genre’s “invention” and the largely independent course of its development during the Quattrocento and the High Renaissance with respect to the contemporary impact of Ptolemy’s *Geography*.⁴⁶ The “modernity” of the *isolario*, for instance, is signaled by the genre’s precocious departure from the resistance to maps that had characterized the ekphrastic humanist geographical writing exemplified by Biondo’s “Italia illustrata.” In the transition from manuscript to printed book, and under the stimulus of the discoveries and explorations between the end of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the sixteenth century, *isolarii* underwent protean changes that were highly productive from a literary point of view, even within a broader European context. Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti’s first printed *isolario* (ca. 1485) rendered Buondelmonti’s Aegean subject matter into a “corona” or cycle of sonnets: it displayed an inventive interchange between cartography and literature analogous to the encounter in the contemporary Berlinghieri’s *Septe giornate*.⁴⁷

Venetian print culture, however, soon fostered the transformation of *isolarii* into an encyclopedic genre of armchair travel literature (and precursor of the atlas). The 1528 *Libro . . . de tutte l’isole del mondo* of Venetian miniaturist, illuminator, and bookman Benedetto Bordone sought to provide a virtual tour of “all the islands of the world” to its readers.⁴⁸ The work had a European resonance and was formative for what has been termed the “cartographic” literature of early modern France—most importantly through its influence on François Rabelais and André Thevet.⁴⁹ Contemporary to its “encyclopedic” development as a printed book, the *isolario* achieved fullest expression under its original guise as a first-person travel narrative accompanied by a complement of island charts in Antonio Pigafetta’s manuscript *isolario* composed between 1522 and 1525, known as the

“Relazione del primo viaggio attorno al mondo.”⁵⁰ Pigafetta’s book recounted the firsthand trials and tribulations of the circumnavigation and included twenty-two hand-drawn island charts depicting the Philippine and Moluccan archipelagos. For Penrose the book rivaled Columbus’s journal and Vasco da Gama’s *roteiro* in the annals of travel literature, while García Márquez would discover in its marvelous realism “the seeds of our present day novels.”⁵¹

Yet while the Italian High Renaissance *isolario* had a significant literary impact abroad, its subsequent literary development in Italy was virtually nil, although as a type of cartographic book the genre continued to the end of

Quint, “The Boat of Romance and Renaissance Epic,” in *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Marina Scordilis Brownlee (Hanover, N.H.: Published for Dartmouth College by the University Press of New England, 1985), 178–202. The subsequent implosion of the Italian epic literary system is further exemplified by Tommaso Stigliani’s *Mondo nuovo* (1617) and is suggestively sketched in Marzio Pieri, “Les Indes Farnesiennes: Sul poema colombiano di Tommaso Stigliani,” in *Images of America and Columbus in Italian Literature*, ed. Albert N. Mancini and Dino S. Cervigni (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992), 180–89.

45. For a comprehensive treatment, see chapter 8 in this volume. See also Elizabeth Clutton’s contribution on *isolarii* in P. D. A. Harvey, “Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe,” *HC* 1:464–501, esp. 482–84.

46. For a suggestive discussion of the “Book of Islands” and its contributions to “island literature,” see Tom Conley, “Virtual Reality and the Isolario,” in *L’odeporica = Hodoeporics: On Travel Literature*, ed. Luigi Monga, vol. 14, *Annali d’Italianistica* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996), 121–30; see also Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Fausett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

47. For a more recent edition, see Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, *Isolario*, with an introduction by Frederick Richmond Goff (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972).

48. Benedetto Bordone, *Libro . . . de tutte l’isole del mondo, Venice, 1528*, with an introduction by R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966). See Lilian Armstrong, “Benedetto Bordone, Miniaturist, and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice,” *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 65–92.

49. See Conley, *Self-Made Map*, 167–201.

50. See the Italian critical edition, Antonio Pigafetta, *Relazione del primo viaggio attorno al mondo*, ed. Andrea Canova (Padua: Antenore, 1999); and idem., *The First Voyage around the World (1519–1522): An Account of Magellan’s Expedition*, ed. T. J. Cachey (New York: Marsilio, 1995), and T. J. Cachey, “Print Culture and the Literature of Travel: The Case of the Isolario,” paper presented at Narratives and Maps: Historical Studies of Cartographic Storytelling, the Thirteenth Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography, Newberry Library, Chicago, October 1999.

51. See Gabriel García Márquez’s 1982 Nobel lecture, published as “The Solitude of America,” *New York Times*, 6 February 1983, sec. E, p. 17. Boies Penrose speaks of Pigafetta in his classic study *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 157 and 302.

the seventeenth century.⁵² Thus, the ebb and flow of the fortunes of the *isolario* illustrates the fertility of the Italian cultural environment for innovations in the relations between literature and cartography that had European and world literary repercussions. At the same time, the *isolario*'s specifically Italian development reflects the pro-

gressive marginalization of the peninsula within the emergent early modern colonial world.

52. Following Tommaso Porcacchi's *L'isole piv famose del mondo* (1572), Italian *isolarii* tended to limit their focus to the Aegean. See pp. 276–79 in this volume.